

# **LYNCHING & RAPE:**

## **AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS**

REVISED AND WITH ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells

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## Author's Note

When I originally prepared the introduction and texts for this Occasional Paper, I was just becoming aware of the women's movement in the United States. There were many reasons for my late arrival and apologies are neither useful nor instructive. We come when we do. In any event, in 1976 I had only a limited acquaintance with the literature in the women's movement, and virtually no consciousness of feminist modes of analysis and interpretation. My awareness has grown, and as a result I have found myself increasingly distressed with both the tone and content of, especially, the concluding section of my original essay which introduced this exchange between Ida B. Wells and Jane Addams on the subject of lynching and rape.

Wishing to remedy this distress, I have elected to re-write the concluding section of my essay; and, add to this Paper a selected bibliography of current materials on the subject of rape, and the racist use of the rape charge. Second, I would like to call attention to the excellent discussion of Jane Addams' lifework, and to the process of thinking about her, which is represented by the article by the historian, Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman, Jane Addams." This article appeared in Chrysalis (No. 3, Autumn, 1977), and it is also available in a pamphlet published by Out and Out Books (476 Second Street, Brooklyn, New York 11215) in 1979.

## INTRODUCTION

Ida B. Wells, militant journalist and anti-lynching crusader, regarded Jane Addams "as the greatest woman in the United States."<sup>1</sup> The estimate, made in Wells' autobiography in 1931, is very much warranted.

Jane Addams (1860-1935) is best known for her work in the Settlement House movement in the United States, and as the founder of Hull House in Chicago. But Addams was infinitely more than a social worker in the conventional sense of that word. She was a social activist, an accomplished organizer, suffragist and civil rights advocate, a courageous opponent of the First World War, and founding president of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She was also a "theorist and intellectual -- a thinker of originality and daring," as Christopher Lasch has suggested.<sup>2</sup>

The ideas which animated Addams' life and work at Hull House were formulated in several early essays focused on what she termed the "subjective" and "objective" necessity for social settlements. By 1902 her ideas were sufficiently coalesced to result in a book-length exposition of settlement work, Democracy and Social Ethics. This was the first of more than a half dozen books she was to write in the course of her forty-year career as social critic and reformer.

Inspired by the works of John Dewey and William James,<sup>3</sup> Addams maintained that the Settlement House was not exclusively, or even primarily, an economic welfare institution. For

Addams, the Settlement House was the instrument through which to realize the egalitarian ethic of an authentic democracy. To be sure, the Settlement House clothed and fed the impoverished, helped the jobless to find work, fought for protective safety and health legislation for workers and opposed child labor. Above all else, however, it was to provide a cultural, literary and artistic oasis for the slum dweller.

Arising literally out of the ashes and smut of a rapidly expanding and viciously competitive industrial capitalism, Addams believed that the Settlement made "its appeal upon the assumption that the industrial problem is a social one,"<sup>4</sup> and that "identification with the common lot, which is the essential idea of Democracy becomes the source and expression of social ethics."<sup>5</sup>

In an era when bourgeois theorists like Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner popularized the ideas of Social Darwinism, extolled the virtues of capitalism and maintained that social classes owed each other precisely nothing, Addams' ideas were refreshingly enlightened. "Hull House," she wrote, "endeavors to make social intercourse express the growing sense of the economic unity of society. It is an effort to add the social function to democracy. It was opened on the theory that dependence of classes on each other is reciprocal."<sup>6</sup>

The heart of Addams' theory lay in her conclusion that in cutting itself off from the proletariat, the bourgeoisie

impoverished itself. Identification with the ethics of the poor, she argued, was culturally and morally uplifting. With an acumen reminiscent of Marx, Addams maintained that labor was an essential human function. Isolated from the practical sphere of the production process, the bourgeoisie was necessarily deprived of indispensable cultural and intellectual qualities. This deprivation was especially acute for women of the upper classes, Addams suggested, whose confinement to the home in isolated splendor was not only assumed, but deemed to be the only virtuous activity for any self-respecting female. These conclusions formed the theoretical basis for the "subjective necessity" of philanthropic activity.

The "objective value" lay in achieving the democratic ideal in political, social, economic and cultural reality. The predicament of the poor was through no fault of their own. The problem derived from inequities in the social system itself. These inequities could be overcome if society assumed responsibility for them, and encouraged the Settlement House solution.

Manifesting appreciation for the ethics and values of the working class, and a deep respect for the humanity of the workers, Addams nevertheless believed in the capitalist system -- albeit reformed and infused with the democratic spirit. She was not, and never became, a socialist.

Jane Addams was active in the Progressive Party. She played a significant role in its 1912 National Convention, creating a sensation as the first woman to deliver a seconding speech for the nomination of a major presidential candidate. She endorsed Theodore Roosevelt. "The speech was the entrance of women in national politics in a new sense," one contemporary observed. Addams' appearance gave a tremendous boost to the woman suffrage cause.<sup>7</sup>

The 1912 Convention of the Progressive Party also occasioned a debate on the role of the Black electorate in national politics which ended on a less than triumphant note. Addams' role in this controversy reveals both her strengths and weaknesses as a reformer and practical politician.

Black men were part of integrated delegations to the Progressive Party Convention from only Rhode Island, West Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee and Kentucky. Two delegations vied for accreditation from Mississippi -- one Black and one white. Addams fought an all-night battle in the Convention's resolutions committee to seat the Black Mississippians. Ultimately, however, the white delegation was seated. Addams acquiesced in the removal of the Black delegates, and was to campaign vigorously for the Progressive Party platform. She rationalized the Convention's action a few months later in an article in the Crisis. It was, she said, a good reason for bringing the Progressive Party into the South as the opposition



party to the Democrats who controlled it, "without the bitterness and old hatred evoked by the Republicans."<sup>8</sup>

The incident at the Progressive Party convention is illustrative of Jane Addams' attitudes on the race question. She was on the one hand a staunch advocate of civil rights. On the other hand, she was given to compromise, and chauvinist assumptions are present in her writing.<sup>9</sup> Still, her pro-civil rights activities were conspicuous.

Addams was supportive of the club work among Black women. She maintained a working relationship with Ida B. Wells in Chicago, where both resided, and cordial relations with Mary Church Terrell, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary R. Talbert and others prominent in the leadership of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW). Addams' work inspired Settlement House efforts among Black women, such as the "White Rose Home for Colored Working Girls" on East 86th Street in New York City, run by the famed Black author, Victoria Earle Matthews.

When the NACW met in convention at Quinn Chapel in Chicago in 1899, Jane Addams extended a luncheon invitation to the officers of the colored women's club. The Chicago-Times-Herald reported the details:

The color line was given another good rub yesterday by Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, who entertained at luncheon a party of colored women . . . . They were shown all about the residence, evincing great interest in every department. "We were impressed," said one resident later in the afternoon, "with the intelligence of these colored women. They inspected the settlement understandingly and poured in upon us as many interested questions as we could answer." This is the first time the colored women have been given recognition in a social way by a woman of lighter skin.<sup>10</sup>

A year later Ida Wells sought Addams' assistance in putting an end to a series of articles in the Chicago-Tribune advocating a segregated public school system in the city. At Wells' request, Addams convened a meeting of "representative men and women of the white race" at Hull House, including a progressive-minded member of the board of education. Wells "stated the case plainly, and told how separate schools always meant inferior schools for Negro children while at the same time making a double tax burden."

Following this gathering at Hull House, Jane Addams headed a delegation of white citizens to see the editors of the Tribune. The series of articles ceased, "and from that day until this," Wells reported, "there has been no further effort made by the Chicago-Tribune to separate the school children on the basis of race."<sup>11</sup>

Addams was an early supporter of W.E.B. Du Bois. It is probable she attended the Atlanta university Conference on the Negro Church in May, 1903, which he organized. It is likely that the publication of Addams' Hull House Papers and Maps in 1895 influenced Du Bois in the preparation of his study of The Philadelphia Negro, the following year. Addams invited Du Bois to speak at Hull House in February, 1907, on the occasion of Lincoln's birthday.<sup>12</sup>

In February, 1908, on the centenary of Lincoln's birth, Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells together organized a mass meeting at Orchestra Hall in Chicago, with Dr. Du Bois as the featured speaker. The celebration also occasioned a call to action

against lynching, peonage, convict-lease systems, disenfranchisement and segregation.<sup>13</sup> A year later Wells and Addams were among the forty signers of the call to found the NAACP, and Addams was among the United States representatives signing the call in support of the First Universal Races Congress held in London in 1911.

In 1913 Oswald Garrison Villard, acting in behalf of the National Board of the NAACP, proposed that Jane Addams be one of fifteen people selected to serve on a National Race Commission to be appointed by the President of the United States. After a long struggle, Woodrow Wilson refused to appoint such a Commission, preferring instead to introduce segregation of federal employees in government offices for the first time in U.S. history.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, in the context of American politics at the turn of the century and after, Addams' affirmative actions on civil rights were courageous, even radical.

In the post-Reconstruction era (1880-1920) Black people in the Southern states were systematically stripped of their civil and political rights. Segregation was institutionalized. Lynchings were common. The ghettoization of Northern cities was enforced. White hoodlums invaded Black communities at will from Atlanta (1906) to East St. Louis (1917) to Chicago (1919), killing and wounding thousands of men, women and children.

Basic to this racist offensive was the determination of Southern land-holders, many of them former slave-owners, and certain sections of Northern industry and finance, to control

the political economy of the South, and significant portions of the North and West. The de facto nullification of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments -- the so-called Civil War amendments providing for Black citizenship and male suffrage -- was to secure the uncontested authority of these ruling classes. This effort coincided with and stimulated the growth of monopoly capitalism in the United States.<sup>16</sup>

The lynching of Black men and women was one of the extra-legal terrorist devices used to secure and maintain ruling class hegemony. The traditional definition of a lynching is a murder committed by a mob of three or more persons. There are no accurate figures as to the number of lynching victims in the United States. The estimates vary.

James Elbert Cutler, in his early study of Lynch Law, reported that three thousand three hundred and thirty-seven human beings were lynched between 1882 and 1903.<sup>17</sup> According to a later study by the NAACP, and based upon only those killings acknowledged by white officials, four thousand nine hundred and fifty-one persons were lynched between 1882 and 1927, of whom approximately thirty-five hundred were Black, and fourteen hundred were white. Ninety-two were women. Of the ninety-two women, seventy-six were Black, and sixteen were white.<sup>18</sup> Ida B. Wells estimated the number of lynch victims as high as ten thousand before the turn of the century.<sup>19</sup>

Lynchings were savage affairs. Hundreds if not thousands of white people participated in the torture and killing of

one or two individuals. Mary Church Terrell, founding President of the National Association of Colored Women, described lynching "as the aftermath of slavery . . . . It is impossible, " she wrote, "to comprehend the cause of the ferocity and barbarity which attend the average lynching-bee without taking into account the brutalizing effect of slavery upon the white people of the South."<sup>20</sup>

It was in January, 1901, in the midst of this lynching craze, that Jane Addams published her article, "Respect for Law," in the influential weekly magazine, The Independent.<sup>21</sup> In this condemnation of lynching, Addams revealed an extraordinary class understanding of the relationship between crime and punishment. That is, it was precisely the crimes of the poor, Addams suggested, especially property crimes committed by so-called "lower" and "inferior" classes against the rich, that provoked the most savage punishment. Then, linking class and race, Addams observed:

Punishments of this sort rise to unspeakable atrocities when the crimes of the so-called inferior class affect the property and persons of the superior; and when the situation is complicated by race animosity, as it is at present in the South, by the feeling of the former slave owner to his former slave, whom he is now bidden to regard as his fellow citizen, we have the worst possible situation for attempting this method of punishment.<sup>22</sup>

Having penetrated the racist core of the lynching mentality -- namely, the link between class exploitation and racial oppression -- Addams reverted to a moralistic, intensely naive and chauvinist method of argument.

Accepting the theory then rampant in society of Negro "underdevelopment," which accounted for the allegedly primitive cultural norms and criminal tendencies among the Negro people, Addams argued that "brutality beget brutality." Lynching should stop, she said, because: "The child who is managed by a system of bullying and terrorizing is almost sure to be the vicious and stupid child."<sup>23</sup> Lynching will not prevent Negro crime; and it will tend toward the moral degradation of the lynchers.

The most damaging aspect of Addams' argument, however, was her decision to give the benefit of doubt to the South, as she put it, and "assume that they have set aside trial by jury and all processes of law because they have become convinced that this brutal method of theirs is the most efficient . . . . in dealing with a peculiar class of crime committed by one race against another;" namely, rape.<sup>24</sup>

Addams then maintained that a woman's virtue could not and should not be protected by a method which assumed her status as property. Again, she offered an unusually perceptive view:

To those who say that most of these hideous and terrorizing acts [of lynching] have been committed in the name of chivalry, in order to make the lives and honor of women safe, perhaps it is women themselves who can best reply that bloodshed and arson and ungoverned rage have never yet controlled best. . . . The woman who is protected by violence allows herself to be protected as the woman of the savage is protected, and she must still be regarded as the possession of man.<sup>25</sup>

Arguing against lynching, yet accepting its basic and inflammatory rationale, Addams' appeal was severely weakened. She comprehended the symbolic relationship between the alleged property crimes of the so-called "lower classes," and the woman-as-property psychosis. Yet she failed to appreciate the dialectics of a racial and sexual oppression with common roots in the ownership of private property which sanctified the lynching of the former slave by maintaining the woman's status as a male possession. Furthermore, to concede that rape was the cause of lynching made effective opposition to it impossible because it concealed the real class origins of the racist assaults.

Ida B. Wells focused on the rape issue in her reply to Jane Addams, which was published in the Independent four months later. Wells was then chairman of the Anti-Lynching Bureau of the National Afro-American Council. The Council, founded in 1887 by T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the most influential Black newspaper of its time, the New York Age, was the first national civil rights organization in the post-Civil War era.

Wells' article was entitled, "Lynching and the Excuse For It." She countered Jane Addams' error with tactful vigor. "Appreciating the helpful influences," of Addams' appeal, Wells said, it was nevertheless incumbent upon her to challenge

the "unfortunate presumption used as a basis for her argument . . . . It is unspeakably infamous," Wells continued, "to put thousands of people to death without a trial by jury; it adds to that infamy to charge that these victims were moral monsters, when, in fact, four-fifths of them were not so accused even by the fiends who murdered them."<sup>26</sup>

With devastating accuracy Wells reproduced the statistics on lynching compiled by so respectable a source as the Chicago Tribune. According to those figures, Wells showed, five hundred and four Black citizens had been lynched between 1896 and 1900, of whom only ninety-six had even been accused of rape.

"No good can come from any investigation which refuses to consider the facts," Wells concluded. "The lynching record, as it is compiled from day to day by unbiased, reliable and responsible public journals, should be the basis of every investigation which seeks to discover the cause and suggest the remedy for lynching."<sup>27</sup>

The fact that Wells' reply is brief should not belittle its significance. That she chose to limit her rejoinder to the rape issue suggests how decisive a question this was in the struggle for civil rights. Indeed, Wells' own experiences confirm the point.

The crucial event in the career of Ida B. Wells (1864-1931) was the lynching of three Black men in Memphis, Tennessee on March 9, 1892. Wells knew all of the victims. A series of



racist provocations by white businessmen in Memphis, trying to force the Black proprietors of a local grocery store out-of-business, had finally culminated in the triple slaying.<sup>28</sup>

At the time of the lynching, Wells owned the only Black newspaper in town, the Memphis Free Speech. In the weeks following the lynching she wrote successive editorials demanding that the murderers be arrested and tried. When the white-owned newspapers responded by alleging that Black men were lynched because they raped white women, Ida B. Wells replied with an editorial that almost cost her her life:

Nobody in this section of the country believes the old thread bare lie that Negro men rape white women. If the Southern white men are not careful, they will over-reach themselves and public sentiment will have a reaction; a conclusion will then be reached which will be very damaging to the moral reputation of their women.<sup>29</sup>

Having intimated that white women could be sexually involved with Black men of their own accord, Ida Wells now faced the full fury of the white press, and the mob itself. Some of the more prominent white businessmen gathered at the Memphis Cotton Exchange Building six days later and openly discussed her lynching. Luckily, Wells was out-of-state attending a general conference of the African Methodist Church in Philadelphia.

With her life so threatened, Wells dared not return to Memphis. The offices of the Free Speech were sacked, creditors took possession of what was left, "and the Free Speech was as if it had never been," Ida Wells wrote from New York City five months later.<sup>30</sup>

It was from New York that Wells launched what was to become an international crusade against lynching. Wells' experience in Memphis had convinced her that lynching had nothing to do with so-called Negro crime. Wells determined to reveal the exact details of all lynchings which came to her attention. She believed that the concrete circumstances surrounding each case would show that the overwhelming majority of lynch victims were killed for economic and political reasons. She believed further that if the political causes of lynching could be demonstrated, political opposition could be generated. This, coupled with a moral appeal to Christian ethics, might succeed in building an effective movement to halt the atrocities.

Wells wrote scores of articles, and a half dozen pamphlets and books. Her writings shaped the political contours of the anti-lynching effort, and significantly influenced the direction of the Black woman's club movement. She insisted that the only possible challenge to lynching was one which disabused the Black-man-as-rapist syndrome. She argued further that some white women preferred the company of Black men; and, that Black women who were systematically and repeatedly ravished by white men never knew the benefits of so-called Southern chivalry.

This sexual abuse of Black women was a particularly grim dimension of the legacy of slavery. For the Black woman had been the property of the master in the double sense of being both woman and slave. His sexual prerogative thus had a dual nature. The Black woman had been a sexual object for his personal

proclivities; and, a sexual object for his economic necessities; that is, "to be the breeder of human cattle for the field or the auction."<sup>31</sup>

Honed in the agony of this slave experience and its aftermath, Black women clearly perceived the convergence of patriarchal and racist modes of oppression. Therefore, they saw the connection between the imagery of the Black woman as whore and the Black man as rapist, and placed themselves in the forefront of the struggle against lynching.<sup>32</sup> It is from this perspective also, that we may conclude that the anti-lynching crusade of Black women was also a movement -- a Black women's movement -- against rape. It was forged with the materials, resources, consciousness and forms of argument and support which Black women had available to themselves at the turn of the century.

In defending the integrity of Black manhood, the women were able to simultaneously affirm their own virtue. Of necessity, they also defended the independence and integrity of white womanhood.<sup>33</sup> Thus, Ida Wells, and the Black women of the anti-lynching movement, made a basic challenge to both the racist and patriarchal foundations of Southern society. Jane Addams would have joined them more effectively had her vision not been blurred by chauvinist assumption.

Jane Addams was a courageous and far-sighted leader in the early twentieth century movements for social reform. She is also an example of a woman whose activities were female-centered, and who was engaged always as a practical partisan in the struggle

for sexual, racial and economic justice. She possessed a most creative and daring intellect. Ida B. Wells was a central personage in the Black liberation movement in the first half of the twentieth century. She was the chief architect of the anti-lynching movement, and sustained an already established tradition of militant journalism in the Black community. John Hope Franklin summarized her life's work this way:

Her zeal and energy were matched by her uncompromising and unequivocal stand on every cause that she espoused. She did not hesitate to criticize southern whites even before she left the South, or northern liberals, or members of her own race when she was convinced that their positions were not in the best interests of all mankind. She did not hesitate to go to the scene of racial disturbances, including riots and lynchings, in order to get an accurate picture of what actually occurred. She did not hesitate to summon to the cause of human dignity anybody and everybody she believed could serve that cause.<sup>34</sup>

Despite forty-two years of continuous struggle, the anti-lynching movement in the United States never succeeded in winning passage of federal anti-lynching legislation.<sup>35</sup> It was not until passage of the Civil Rights Acts in the 1960's that federal intervention in the matter of lynching was achieved, and even then it was indirect and under a constitutional authority to protect an individual's civil rights (which would certainly be denied in the event of an unlawful death). There has, however, never been a federal acknowledgement of the fact of lynching, and no sanction against it as a national crime. Moreover, the issue of rape and race still agitates the public mind, and the racist use of the rape charge continues to

weave its historic pattern. Between 1930 and 1967, for example, four hundred and fifty-five men were executed in the United States for rape convictions. Four hundred and five of these men -- that is 90% -- were Black.<sup>36</sup>

Violence against women in the United States in the form of rape, incest, battery, pornography, forced sterilizations, illegalized abortions and outright murder, has been historically pervasive. But, until recent times the political nature of these forms of violence has been hidden from us. The growing militancy of women in naming this violence, in insisting upon its political character, and in refusing to counsel passivity and silence in the face of it, has brought the issue to the forefront of the women's movement. As the women's movement has confronted the politics of rape, it has of necessity also confronted the political implications of the institutionalized violence against Black women and men. The rape of Black women, by white men in the first place, and the racist use of the rape charge against Black men, have informed an essential part of the patriarchal web. White men have exercised great power and privilege in their regard; and, insofar as white women have identified their interests with those of the men to whom they were attached as daughters and wives, they too have had access to a derived power and privilege which remained, of course, unavailable to their sisters of color.

The political character of racist violence has always been widely acknowledged. However, according the violence against women a political status invites analysis of the connections

between racial and sexual oppression on a still largely unexplored terrain. That white women engaging this labyrinth for the first time have been prone to chauvinist errors is not surprising given the social conditions from which we come. But errors also illuminate, and are one of the ways in which better solutions are ultimately found. And, it takes courage to write where there are no maps. The experience with Susan Brownmiller's book on the history of rape, published in 1976, is a case in point.

When I first read Brownmiller's book -- Against Our Will -- one scene played itself out over and over again in my mind. Brownmiller described her experience in going to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, housed at 135th Street in Harlem, and part of the New York City Public Library. The Center contains the largest collection of material on Afro-American history, literature and art in the United States. She asked the librarian for any material he might have on rape. The man returned with several boxes and folders on lynching. No, Brownmiller said, she wanted material on rape. Lynching, the librarian said, contained the material she wanted. They went round and round like that, Brownmiller reported. She looked at the material on lynching, but did not find what she was looking for, which was information on the rape of Black women.

The scene stayed with me because it so well illuminates the problems of category, experience and perspective which has affected the women's movement as a whole. For the librarian at the Schomburg, the word rape immediately and appropriately conjured the spectre of lynching. For the young woman who had

been repeatedly propositioned and harassed in the streets and offices of New York City, the word conjured centuries of violence against women. The librarian and Susan Brownmiller stood apart, separated in the first place, by the chasm of history.

Susan Brownmiller's work, so far as I know, was the first book-length study of rape which attempted a history with women's experience at the center of its interpretive process. This represented an enormous breakthrough for us, in our capacity to accord the rape issue a political status because of its connection to women's oppression. That is, the political status of rape had been previously established primarily insofar as it was connected to racist oppression -- of Black women under slavery, and of Black men in the aftermath of slavery. Now, in addition, the political significance of its connection to patriarchal modes of oppression against women was acknowledged and explored. This also deepened our thinking about the special oppression of Black women, for the Schomburg library was not unique in its subject cataloging. Until very recently no libraries in this country had a catalog entry (i.e. a category of investigation) under the subject heading of rape.

The chauvirist lines of argument in Brownmiller's book, especially in her analysis of interracial rapes, and of the Emmett Till lynching in Mississippi in 1954 have been well-documented. That Brownmiller wrote in this way illustrates a deeper chauvinism among us as white women; namely, the failure to see that the Black woman's experience is an equally viable center from which to interpret the world. All evidence we have available confirms

that the overwhelming majority -- some 90 percent -- of rapes committed in the United States are intra-racial. Moreover, when rape is interracial Black women are most often the victims.

Conventional history puts 'white men' at the center of its categories, and they are of the upper classes. Radical history may be interracial, but it is also male-centered. Insofar as women's history replicates a racial pattern which excludes or limits the interpretive centrality of the Black women's experience, it is frequently absorbed back into the male center it was trying to escape. That Brownmiller and other white women in the women's movement, including myself have done this does not diminish the reality of our oppression as women or the violence against us. It does mean that politics as we have known them, has not yet afforded women, Black or white, with a workable way to deal with these issues.

Indeed, Black women, often experiencing this double interpretive exclusion -- from women's history because they are Black, and from Black history because they are women -- have attempted to deal with the rape/race collision in their own lives. They have experienced the tensions of uncertainty with which we have all grappled. The work of the poets and playwrights -- like Ntozake Shange, June Jordan, Sonia Sanchez, Alice Childress, Audre Lorde, Alice Walker -- come particularly to mind. Apropos of our work here is a short story by Alice Walker titled "Advancing Luna -- and Ida B. Wells," because it addresses the issue at its racial nexus.

Alice Walker was in Georgia in the summer of 1964 to do voter registration work. Among her co-workers was a young white woman,



also a student from a Northern college, named Luna. The two women worked hard together in the struggle, liked each other a lot, and became devoted friends. A year later, when both were back in New York City and Alice Walker was low on funds, Luna invited her to share an apartment. Luna lived with few trimmings, but her father was well-enough off and when times were hard he could be counted on for economic relief. Alice Walker had no such material privileges. But, Walker writes, "over a period of weeks, our relationship, always marked by mutual respect, evolved into a warm and comfortable friendship."

It was while they were living together that Luna told Alice Walker that she had been raped during her summer in the South. Her assailant had also been a civil rights worker, and he was Black. Luna had never told anyone about the rape. She had said nothing while it was happening or immediately thereafter being well-aware of racist politics and lynchings in the South.

In the pages which follow, Alice Walker struggles with Luna's revelation -- in grief, in rage (at Luna for burdening her with it) and finally, really, I think, in despair. The friendship dims. As it does, and as the two women grow apart, Walker also establishes an emotional distance from it and from Luna which, from a certain point of view, prevents this story from 'working' in a literary sense. In fact, Walker doesn't know how to end the story and offers several possible alternatives. And, it was here, in this process of reading multiple endings that the political issues were really clarified for me.

Walker believes that Luna was raped. Walker disliked the man who raped Luna because she herself had encountered his

chauvinism towards women. Walker also knows that Luna needs some way to process this experience, to re-empower herself, to heal, but she can find no way to simultaneously advance Luna and Ida B. Wells (as Walker puts it).

Alice Walker is right, I think, in finally concluding that she had no solution, at least in terms of the issues as we have understood them. That is, Walker correctly perceived herself as having to choose between her friendship with Luna and her commitment to protect Black men, in general, from racist persecutions. Framed in this way, as a matter of choosing between being Black and being a woman there was no way to claim a priority. Her silence in relation to Luna gave priority to Black men by default. But, in breaking silence and writing the story Walker also clarified the patriarchal character of a politic which forces such a choice upon women, Black and white. For it is a politic which always subordinates the violence against women to a non-political and therefore less important status, than the violence against men.

We need a movement which unequivocally condemns racist violence, including the racist use of the rape charge. We need a movement which refuses to tolerate any form of violence against women. This must include "personal" violations in private spaces which may conceal their otherwise apparent political character. We also need a movement which opposes the special forms of violence against women of color who experience the double jeopardy of both racist and patriarchal assaults in combination with one another. Such a movement could see all such

violence as equally atrocious, politically connected acts of terror. And such a politic would not assume a hierarchy of oppressions in which violence against men is made to be 'more important' or 'more central' than the violence against women. Such a politic would also not assume a hierarchy which reverses the order of oppressions and makes violence against women more central or more important. The only way to establish such a movement is to act consistently from this principle of equality -- now. It will mean that women will most often take the initiative because only a politic which assumes the collective empowerment of all women as independent, autonomous and self-defined human beings makes such a movement possible.

While historical patterns, such as the connection between rape and the racist use of the rape charge re-emerge, the social conditions in which they play themselves out change. The position of women in society, and our claim to equality, have been qualitatively transformed in the eighty years since Ida B. Wells and Jane Addams exchanged these views on lynching and rape. The relevance of their exchange today, is for us to see the limits and the horizon of their experience, and to work diligently toward an horizon in which the empowerment of women is made a reality.

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The articles by Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells are reprinted here for the first time. None of the editors compiling anthologies of Addams' work thought her essay on lynching significant enough to warrant inclusion, and only one of her biographers treated

her anti-lynching activities in any depth.<sup>37</sup> In 1969, Arno Press and the New York Times reprinted three of Wells' essays on lynching, but her reply to Addams, which is relatively brief and specific, was not included.

RESPECT FOR LAW

by Jane Addams

(from The Independent, January 3, 1901)

Each nation, and each section of a nation so large as ours, has its own problems and difficulties, many of them so subtle and intricate that it is almost impossible for an outsider to judge of them fairly. It is, moreover, the essence of self-government that it shall be local in administration, in order that special difficulties shall be met by the people who live among them, and who thus understand them better than an outsider possibly could.

We are obliged to remember all this when we speak of the problems which face the present generation of Southern men. Added to all the difficulties of reconstruction and the restoration of a country devastated by war, they must deal with that most intricate of all problems - the presence of two alien races. Admitting all this, and making due allowances for differences of standpoint, it still remains true that certain well established principles underlie all self-government and that to persistently disregard these principles is to endanger self-government itself. When this disregard constantly occurs any section of a self-governing country has a right to enter its protest against any other section, just as the civilized nations interfere with any one nation whose public acts throw back the whole of civilized progress.

Before entering this protest, however, in regard to the increasing number of negro lynchings occurring in the South, we must remember that many of the most atrocious public acts recorded in history have been committed by men who had convinced themselves that they were doing right. They either proceeded upon a false theory of conduct, or - what is much worse - they later invented a theory of conduct to cover and support their deeds.

One of these time-honored false theories has been that criminality can be suppressed and terrorized by exhibitions of brutal punishment; that crime can be prevented by cruelty.

Let us then assume that the Southern citizens who take part in and abet the lynching of negroes honestly believe that that is the only successful method of dealing with a certain class of crimes; that they have become convinced that the Southern negro in his present undeveloped state must be frightened and subdued by terror; that, acting upon this theory, they give each lynching full publicity and often gather together numerous spectators. We know that at least on one occasion excursion trains carried thousands of people to view a carefully planned lynching, in order that as many people as possible might be thoroughly frightened by the spectacle, and terrorized from committing the same crime. On this same assumption the living victim is sometimes horribly mutilated and his body later exhibited.

Let us give the Southern citizens the full benefit of this position, and assume that they have set aside trial by jury and all processes of law because they have become convinced that this brutal method of theirs is the most efficient method in dealing with a peculiar case of crime committed by one race against another.

A most superficial study of history will discover that the method of deterring crime by horrible punishment has been tried many times and that it particularly distinguishes the dealing with those crimes which a so-called lower class has committed against its superior.

It betrays the existence of the essentially aristocratic attitude, founded upon a contempt for the inferior class - a belief that they cannot be appealed to by reason and fair dealing, but must be treated upon the animal plane, bullied and terrorized.

This attitude is particularly discernible when the lower class evinces a tendency toward democratic development, toward asserting their human claim as such, when they assert their rights rather than ask for privileges.

We recall that the years preceding the French Revolution were the years in which the most revolting public executions were common in all parts of Paris. Fifty spots are still pointed out as the scenes of horrible public exposures. A man would be taken to one place, where his hand would be chopped off, then carried on a cart to another where he would be broken alive on a wheel; and at still another his body would be burned, and his ashes scattered to the winds. So late as 1780 a workingman for stealing some linen was condemned to be hung on a gibbet and strangled by the public executioner; certainly not because of the value of the linen, but because he had dared to touch the property of the class above his own. He must be made an example of, his temerity must be well punished and a repetition prevented among his fellows. And who was responsible for this torture, strangling and burning? The old nobility and monarchists, who honestly believed that this method of terrorizing was the only possible way to control the common people, who were so far inferior to themselves that they could not be appealed to by human methods.

It is thus the people were prepared for the guillotine, and it was only because they were hardened by such scenes as these that they would have endured the sights of the Revolution.

The English records of crime were never so full as when the penalties were most severe; when poaching - that arch crime against the upper classes - was punished by death;

when the grinning skulls of thieves were exposed upon London Bridge; when, in short, the nobility made and executed the laws for the populace whose uprisings they feared.

It was because the gentle folk heard the rumblings of the Chartist movement that they were thus incensed and they went so far that they even succeeded in stirring up the law abiding country Englishman so that he went to burning hay ricks and attacking the houses of the country gentry in his desire to get even with the atrocities committed against him.

Punishments of this sort rise to unspeakable atrocities when the crimes of the so-called inferior class affect the property and persons of the superior; and when the situation is complicated by race animosity, as it is at present in the South, by the feeling of the former slave owner to his former slave, whom he is now bidden to regard as his fellow citizen, we have the worst possible situation for attempting this method of punishment. But, whether tried at its best or worst, this method has always failed, and - more than that - has reacted to the moral degradation of all concerned.

We would send this message to our fellow citizens of the South who are once more trying to suppress vice by violence: That the bestial in man, that which leads him to pillage and rape, can never be controlled by public cruelty and dramatic punishment, which too often cover fury and revenge. That violence is the most ineffectual method of dealing with crime, the most preposterous attempt to inculcate lessons of self control. A community has a right to protect itself from the criminal, to restrain him, to segregate him from the rest of society. But when it attempts revenge, when it persuades itself that exhibitions of cruelty result in reform, it shows itself ignorant of all the teachings of history; it allows itself to be thrown back into the savage state of dealing with criminality.

It further runs a certain risk of brutalizing each spectator, of shaking his belief in law and order, of sowing seed for future violence. It is certainly doubtful whether these scenes could be enacted over and over again, save in a community in which the hardening drama of slavery had once been seen, in which the devastation of war had taken place; and we may be reasonably sure that the next generation of the South cannot escape the result of the lawlessness and violence which are now being indulged in.

Brutality begets brutality; and proceeding on the theory that the negro is undeveloped, and therefore must be treated in this primitive fashion, let us forget that the immature pay little attention to statements, but quickly imitate what they see. The under-developed are never helped by such methods as



these, for they learn only by imitation. The child who is managed by a system of bullying and terrorizing is almost sure to be the vicious and stupid child.

And to those Southern citizens who claim that this method has been successful, that in certain localities a lynching has, in point of fact, been followed by a cessation of the crime of which the lynched man was guilty, we would quote the psychologists who tell us that, under the influence of certain strong emotions, such as fear, certain elements of the self can be prevented from coming into action, "inhibited," as they technically call it; but that these elements are thus only stupefied, or drugged, and sooner or later assert themselves with all of their old power, if the fuller self be aroused. All such inhibitive measures must in the end be futile, and, altho they may for a fleeting moment appear successful, they are philosophically and historically unsound.

To those who say that most of these hideous and terrorizing acts have been committed in the name of chivalry, in order to make the lives and honor of women safe, perhaps it is women themselves who can best reply that bloodshed and arson and ungoverned anger have never yet controlled lust. On the contrary, that lust has always been the handmaid of these, and is prone to be found where they exist; that the suppression of the bestial cannot be accomplished by the counter exhibition of the brutal only. Perhaps it is woman who can best testify that the honor of women is only secure in those nations and those localities where law and order and justice prevail; that the sight of human blood and the burning of human flesh has historically been the signal for lust; that an attempt to allay and control it by scenes such as those is as ignorant as it is futile and childish.

And if a woman might venture to add another word on behalf of her sex, that the woman who is protected by violence allows herself to be protected as the woman of the savage is, and she must still be regarded as the possession of man. As her lord and master is strong or weak, so is the protection which she receives; that if she takes brute force as her protection, she must also accept the status she held when brute force alone prevailed.

I have purposely created this subject on the theory of its ablest defenders; I have said nothing of the miserable chances of punishing the wrong man; of the many other results of lawless methods; I have avoided confusing the main issue.

LYNCHING AND THE EXCUSE FOR IT

By Ida B. Wells-Barnett  
(from The Independent, May 16, 1901)

It was eminently befitting that THE INDEPENDENT'S first number in the new century should contain a strong protest against lynching. The deepest dyed infamy of the nineteenth century was that which, in its supreme contempt for law, defied all constitutional guaranties of citizenship, and during the last fifteen years of the century put to death two thousand men, women and children, by shooting, hanging and burning alive. Well would it have been if every preacher in every pulpit in the land had made so earnest a plea as that which came from Miss Addams's forceful pen.

Appreciating the helpful influences of such a dispassionate and logical argument as that made by the writer referred to, I earnestly desire to say nothing to lessen the force of the appeal. At the same time an unfortunate presumption used as a basis for her argument works so serious, tho doubtless unintentional, an injury to the memory of thousands of victims of mob law, that it is only fair to call attention to this phase of the writer's plea. It is unspeakably infamous to put thousands of people to death without a trial by jury; it adds to that infamy to charge that these victims were moral monsters, when in fact, four-fifths of them were not so accused even by the fiends who murdered them.

Almost at the beginning of her discussion, the distinguished writer says:

"Let us assume that the Southern citizens who take part in and abet the lynching of negroes honestly believe that that is the only successful method of dealing with a certain class of crime."

It is this assumption, this absolutely unwarrantable assumption, that vitiates every suggestion which it inspires Miss Addams to make. It is the same baseless assumption which influences ninety-nine out of every one hundred persons who discuss this question. Among many thousand editorial clippings I have received in the past five years, ninety-nine per cent discuss the question upon the presumption that lynchings are the desperate effort of the Southern people to protect their women from black monsters, and while the large majority condemn lynching, the condemnation is tempered with a plea for the lyncher - that human nature gives way under such awful provocation and that the mob, insane for the moment, must be pitied as well as condemned. It is strange that an intelligent, law-abiding and fair minded people should so persistently shut their eyes to the facts in the discussion of what the civilized world now concedes to be America's national crime.

This almost universal tendency to accept as true the slander which the lynchers offer to civilization as an excuse for their crime might be explained if the true facts were difficult to obtain. But not the slightest difficulty intervenes. The

Associated Press dispatches, the press clipping bureau, frequent book publications and the annual summary of a number of influential journals give the lynching record every year. This record, easily within the reach of every one who wants it, makes inexcusable the statement and cruelly unwarranted the assumption that negroes are lynched only because of their assaults upon womanhood.

For an example in point: For fifteen years past, on the first day of each year, the Chicago Tribune has given to the public a carefully compiled record of all the lynchings of the previous year. Space will not permit a resume of these fifteen years, but as fairly representing the entire time, I desire to briefly tabulate here the record of the five years long past. The statistics of the ten years preceding do not vary, they simply emphasize the record here presented.

The record gives the name and nationality of the man or woman lynched, the alleged crime, the time and place of the lynching. With this is given a resume of the offenses charged, with the number of persons lynched for the offenses named. That enables the reader to see at a glance the causes assigned for the lynchings and leaves nothing to be assumed. The lynch-ers, at the time and place of the lynching, are the best authority for the causes which actuate them. Every presumption is in favor of this record, especially as it remains absolutely unimpeached. This record gives the following statement of the colored persons lynched and the causes of the lynchings for the years named:

#### 1896

Murder. . . . .	24	Arson. . . . .	2
Attempted murder. . .	4	Assault. . . . .	3
Rape. . . . .	31	Unknown cause. . . .	1
Incediarism . . . . .	2	Slapping a child . . .	1
No cause. . . . .	2	Shooting at officer. .	1
Alleged rape. . . . .	2	Threats. . . . .	1
Cattle stealing . . . .	1	Passing counterfeit	
Miscegenation . . . . .	2	money . . . . .	1
Attempted rape. . . . .	4	Theft. . . . .	1
Murderous assault . . .	1	Alleged murder . . . .	2

#### 1897

Murder. . . . .	55	Writing insulting	1
Attempted rape. . . . .	8	letter . . . . .	
Mistaken identity . . .	1	Cattle Thief . . . . .	1
Arson . . . . .	3	Felony . . . . .	1
Murderous assault . . .	2	Train wrecking . . . .	1
Running quarantine. . .	1	Rape . . . . .	22
Burglary . . . . .	1	Race prejudice . . . .	1
Bad reputation. . . . .	1	Alleged arson. . . . .	1
Unknown offense . . . .	3	Robbery. . . . .	6
Killing white cap . . .	1	Assault. . . . .	2
Attempted murder. . . .	1	Disobeying Fed. regu-	
		lations . . . . .	1

1897  
(cont.)

Insulting white woman . . . . .	1	Theft . . . . .	2
Suspected arson . . . . .	1	Elopement . . . . .	1
Giving evidence . . . . .	2	Concealing murderer. .	1
Refusing to give evidence . . . . .	1		

1898

Murder . . . . .	42	Theft . . . . .	6
Rape . . . . .	14	Miscegenation . . . . .	1
Attempted rape . . . . .	7	Unknown offense . . . . .	2
Complicity in rape . . . . .	1	Violation of contract . .	1
Highway robbery . . . . .	1	Insults . . . . .	2
Burglary . . . . .	1	Race prejudice . . . . .	3
Mistaken identity . . . . .	1	Resisting arrest . . . .	1
Arson . . . . .	1	Suspected murder . . . .	13
Murderous assault . . . . .	1	Assaults upon whites . .	4

1899

Murder . . . . .	25	Arson . . . . .	8
Robbery . . . . .	6	Unknown offense . . . . .	4
Inflammatory Language . . . . .	1	Resisting arrest . . . .	1
Desperado . . . . .	1	Mistaken identity . . . .	1
Complicity in murder . . . .	1	Aiding escape of murderer. . . . .	3
Rape . . . . .	11		
Attempted rape . . . . .	8		

1900

Murder . . . . .	30	No offense . . . . .	1
Rape . . . . .	10	Arson . . . . .	2
Attempted assault . . . . .	12	Suspicion of arson . . . .	1
Race prejudice . . . . .	9	Aiding escape of murderer. . . . .	1
Plot to kill whites . . . . .	2	Unpopularity . . . . .	1
Suspected robbery . . . . .	1	Making threats . . . . .	1
Giving testimony . . . . .	1	Informers . . . . .	1
Attacking white men . . . . .	3	Robbery . . . . .	2
Attempted murder . . . . .	4	Burglary . . . . .	4
Threats to kill . . . . .	1	Assault . . . . .	2
Suspected murder . . . . .	2		
Unknown offense . . . . .	7		

With this record in view there should be no difficulty in ascertaining the alleged offenses given as justification for lynchings during the last five years. If the Southern citizens lynch negroes because "that is the only successful method of dealing with a certain class of crimes," then that

class of crimes should be shown unmistakably by this record. Now consider the record.

It would be supposed that the record would show that all, or nearly all, lynchings were caused by outrageous assaults upon women; certainly that this particular offense would outnumber all other causes for putting human beings to death without a trial by jury and the other safeguards of our Constitution and laws.

But the record makes no such disclosure. Instead, it shows that five women have been lynched, put to death with unspeakable savagery, during the past five years. They certainly were not under the ban of the outlawing crime. It shows that men, not a few, but hundreds, have been lynched for misdeameanors, while others have suffered death for no offense known to the law, the causes assigned being "mistaken identity," "insult," "bad reputation," "unpopularity," "violating contract," "running quarantine," "giving evidence," "frightening child by shooting at rabbits," etc. Then, strangest of all, the record shows that the sum total of lynchings for these offenses - no crimes - and for the alleged offenses which are only misdemeanors, greatly exceeds the lynchings for the very crime universally declared to be the cause of lynching.

A careful classification of the offenses which have caused lynchings during the past five years shows that contempt for law and race prejudice constitute the real cause of all lynching. During the past five years 147 white persons were lynched. It may be argued that fear of the "law's delays" was the cause of their being lynched. But this is not true. Not a single white victim of the mob was wealthy or had friends of influence to cause a miscarriage of justice. There was no such possibility - it was contempt for law which incited the mob to put so many white men to death without a complaint under oath, much less a trial.

In the case of the negroes lynched the mobs' incentive was race prejudice. Few white men were lynched for any such trivial offenses as are detailed in the causes for lynching colored men. Negroes are lynched for "violating contracts," "unpopularity," "testifying in court" and "shooting at rabbits." As only negroes are lynched for "no offense," "unknown offense," offenses not criminal, misdeameanors and crimes not capital, it must be admitted that the real cause of lynching in all such cases is race prejudice, and should be so classified. Grouping these lynchings under that classification and excluding rape, which in some States is made a capital offense, the record for the five years, so far as the negro is concerned, reads as follows:

Year.	Race prejudice.	Murder.	Rape.	Total Lynchings.
1896	31	34	31	86
1897	46	55	22	123
1898	39	47	16	102
1899	56	23	11	90
1900	57	30	16	103
Total	229	179	96	504

This table tells its own story, and shows how false is the excuse which lynchers offer to justify their fiendishness. Instead of being the sole cause of lynching, the crime upon which lynchers build their defense furnishes the least victims for the mob. In 1896 less than thirty-nine per cent of the negroes lynched were charged with this crime; in 1897, less than eighteen per cent; in 1898, less than sixteen per cent, and in 1900, less than fifteen per cent were so charged.

No good result can come from any investigation which refuses to consider the facts. A conclusion that is based upon a presumption, instead of the best evidence, is unworthy of a moment's consideration. The lynching record, as it is compiled from day to day by unbiased, reliable and responsible public journals, should be the basis of every investigation which seeks to discover the cause and suggest the remedy for lynching. The excuses of lynchers and the specious pleas of their apologists should be considered in the light of the record, which they invariably misrepresent or ignore. The Christian and moral forces of the nation should insist that misrepresentation should have no place in the discussion of this all important question, that the figures of the lynching record should be allowed to plead, trumpet tongued, in defense of the slandered dead, that the silence of concession be broken and that truth, swift-winged and courageous, summon this nation to do its duty to exalt justice and preserve inviolate the sacredness of human life.

### Reference Notes

1) Ida B. Wells, Crusade for Justice, ed. Alfreda M. Duster, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 259.

2) Christopher Lasch, ed., The Social Thought of Jane Addams (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965), p. xv.

3) The influence of John Dewey and William Jones is evident. See, for example, Jane Addams, "A Function of the Social Settlement," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, XIII (May, 1899), pp. 323-324. James was enthusiastic about Addams' work, and wrote to her shortly after the publication of Democracy and Social Ethics (1902). See, Lasch, ed., Social Thought, op. cit., p. 62.

4) Addams, "Function of the Social Settlement," op. cit., p. 342.

5) Jane Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902), p. 11.

6) Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," in Jane Addams, et al., Philanthropy and Social Progress (1893; rpt; Freeport, New York: Books For Libraries Press, 1969), p. 2.

7) Benjamin P. Dewitt, The Progressive Movement, A Non-Partisan Comprehensive Discussion of Current Tendencies in American Politics (New York, 1915), p. 85. Quoted by John C. Farrell, Beloved Lady: A History of Jane Addams' Ideas on Reform and Peace (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1967), p. 131.

8) Jane Addams, "The Progressive Party and the Negro," The Crisis, V (November, 1912), pp. 30-31.

9) See, for example, Addams' comments on Black women and the Black family in Jane Addams, A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1913), pp. 118-119; and Jane Addams, The Second Twenty Years at Hull House (1930) reprinted by Lasch, ed., Social Thought, op. cit., pp. 206-207. Also, see Addams' comments on the incompetence, as she calls it, of domestic workers, in Jane Addams, Democracy and Social Ethics, op. cit., pp. 111-112. Her description of domestic workers is much improved in Addams, A New Conscience . . . . op. cit., pp. 168-169.



10) Mary Church Terrell, A Colored Woman in a White World (Washington, D.C.: Ransdell, Inc., 1940) p. 153.

11) Wells, Crusade, op. cit., pp. 274-278.

12) See, Letter from Ida B. Wells to W.E.B. Du Bois, May 30, 1903 in Herbert Aptheker, ed., The Correspondence of W.E.B. Du Bois, Vol. I: Selections, 1877-1934 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1973), pp. 55-56. Wells mentions that she "lunched with Jane Addams at Hull House Wednesday and found that she too was disappointed at not seeing you when she was in Atlanta recently." Du Bois' study of The Philadelphia Negro was jointly sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania and the College Settlement House of Philadelphia. See, Herbert Aptheker, "Introduction," to W.E.B. Du Bois, The Philadelphia Negro (1899; rpt.; Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization, Ltd., 1973), pp. 6-7; and, Herbert Aptheker, Annotated Bibliography of the Published Writings of W.E.B. Du Bois (Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thomson Ltd., 1973), p. 550. Du Bois lectured at Hull House on February 12, 1907. His speech, "Abraham Lincoln," was published in Voice of the Negro, IV, (June, 1907), pp. 242-247.

13) Wells, Crusade, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

14) For a discussion of the struggle to establish this National Race Commission, see, Charles Flint Kellogg, NAACP, A History of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Vol. I: 1909-1920 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1967), pp. 159-165.

15) Staughton Lynd, in an interesting article, "Jane Addams and the Radical Impulse," Commentary, XXXVI (July, 1961), pp. 54-59, argues that until the First World War Addams was relatively conservative in style and radical "only in her utter readiness to act on her convictions and to confront the world's evil face to face." It is striking that Lynd makes no reference to the race issue and Addams' early and consistent civil rights advocacy.

16) For a discussion of this period see, W.E.B. Du Bois, Black Reconstruction in America. An Essay Toward a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880 (1935; rpt.; New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), especially pp. 580-729; Rayford W. Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro. From Ruthertford E. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson (New York: Collier Books, 1965); Herbert Aptheker, "American Imperialism and White Chauvinism," in His Afro-American History, The Modern Era (New York: Citadel Press, 1971), pp. 99-108.

17) James Elbert Cutler, Lynch Law. An Investigation Into the History of Lynching in the United States (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905), p. 161.

18) Walter White, "A Statement of Fact [on lynching]," in Herbert Aptheker, ed., A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Vol II: From the Emergence of the NAACP to the Beginning of the New Deal, 1910-1932 (Secaucus, New Jersey: Citadel Press, 1973), pp. 610-611.

19) Ida B. Wells, A Red Record (1895; rpt.; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 8.

20) Mary Church Terrell, "Lynching From a Negro's Point of View," North American Review, CLXXVII (June, 1904), p. 852.

21) The Independent began as a Congregationalist journal in December, 1848. By the end of the century it was nonsectarian, although its religious origins continued to influence its editorial policies. The Independent was an abolitionist, pro-Republican paper, and during the Civil War years it was edited by Henry Ward Beecher, and enjoyed a circulation of 35,000. After the War its circulation declined. By 1901 it probably reached only ten thousand readers, "but in spite of these handicaps [in] circulation growth . . . The Independent maintained an important position among American periodicals." By 1916 it had a circulation of 60,000 and had absorbed the Chautauquan (1914) and Harper's Weekly (1916). See, Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol. II: 1845-1865 (1938; rpt.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 376-378.

22) Jane Addams, "Respect for Law," The Independent, LIII January 3, 1901, p. 19.

23) Ibid., p. 19.

24) Ibid., p. 18.

25) Ibid., p. 20.

26) Ida B. Wells-Barnett, "Lynching and the Excuse for It," The Independent, LIII (May 16, 1901) p. 1133. Wells was married to the Black attorney, Ferdinand L. Barnett, and sometimes used his name as well as her own.

27) Ibid., pp. 1135-1136.

28) An excellent account of this lynching was written by David M. Tucker, "Miss Ida B. Wells and the Memphis Lynching," Phylon, XXXII (Summer, 1971), pp. 112-122.

29) Ida B. Wells, Southern Heroes. Lynch Law In All Its Phases (1892; rpt.; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 4.

30) Ibid., p. 5.

31) Alexander Crummell, "The Black Woman of the South," in his Africa and America, Addresses and Discourses (1891; rpt.; Miami: Mnemosyne Publishing Co., 1969), p. 64. See, also, Angela Y. Davis, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," The Black Scholar, III (December, 1971), pp. 3-15; and W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Damnation of Women," in W.E.B. Du Bois, Darkwater, Voices From Within the Veil (1920; rpt.; New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 163-186.

32) See, Gerda Lerner, ed., Black Women in White America, A Documentary History (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), pp. 193-194.

33) This is a prominent theme in Afro-American history, and will be found in the works of W.E.B. Du Bois. Ida B. Wells and Mary Church Terrell, for example, and in the writings and speeches of Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, in the 19th century. See, Bettina Aptheker, "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Struggle for Woman's Rights: 1910-1920," San Jose Studies, I (May, 1975), pp. 7-16; and, Bettina Aptheker, "Black Women in the Fight for Women's Rights," Political Affairs, LV (February, 1976) pp. 42-53.

34) John Hope Franklin, "Foreword," to Wells, Crusade, op. cit., p. x.

35) In 1917 Representative Leonidas C. Dyer from Missouri introduced anti-lynching legislation in Congress. The Dyer Bill finally passed the House in 1934 but was filibustered to death in the Senate.

36) Michael Meltsner, Cruel and Unusual, The Supreme Court and Capital Punishment, (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 74.

37) See, Lasch, ed., Social Thought, op. cit.; and, Emily Cooper Johnson, ed., Jane Addams, A Centennial Reader (New York: Macmillan Co., 1960). The Biographer who included significant reference to Addams' anti-lynching, pro-civil rights views was Allen F. Davis, American Heroine, The Life and Legend of Jane Addams (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 129-130. A good discussion of Addams' role in the civil rights struggle at the 1912 Progressive Party convention will be found in Daniel Levine, Jane Addams and the Liberal Tradition (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971), pp. 192-194.

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